

- \* Statements issued by the Sandinistas before they came to power clearly show their Marxist/Leninist roots. Examples:
  - 1978 Sandinista communique: "This Sandinista nuclear vanguard...must base itself in the scientific doctrine of the proletariat, in Marxism-Leninism, as a sure guide for the transformation of society."
  - Ernesto Cardinal (now Minister of Culture) 1978 interview in Spain: "Marxism is the world's only solution."
- \* Cuba acted as the hub of Sandinista activity before the takeover, training hundreds of FSLN guerrillas and providing machine guns, mortars, anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapons, and Soviet AK-47 rifles. More moderate members of the guerrilla movement who were trained in Costa Rica were not let into the center of power which truly controlled the movement, the so-called "Sandinista nuclear vanguard" mentioned above.
  - training in Cuba began as early as 1960, for about a dozen Nicaraguans as a core group; Tomas Borge (now Minister of the Interior) stated, "The Nicaraguans heard it said that they were the first Latin American group to receive this type of collaboration from the Cuban government."
  - Miguel D'Escoto (now Foreign Minister), in Guardians of the Dynasty before the revolution: he favors "a noncapitalistic system"; if this doesn't come peacefully, "it will only serve to prove that the Frente Sandinista de Liberacion Nacional had been right all along in choosing violence..."
- \* After coming to power, the Sandinistas put this Marxist-Leninist doctrine into practice, while attempting to hide this from the American people by public relations techniques. (In Nicaragua itself their speeches are generally more frank, depending on the audience.) The mask does slip occasionally, especially if one is aware of what the "code words" in Marxist talk mean, such as "imperialism" for the Free World and "bourgeoisie" for non-Marxists. Examples:
  - Tomas Borge, 1980: "The Nicaraguan revolutionaries will not be content until the imperialists have been overthrown in all parts of the world."
  - Humberto Ortega, 1981, on the meaning of "imperialism" and "socialism": "on the one side the camp of imperialism, the camp of capitalism headed by the United States and the rest of the capitalist countries of Europe and of the world, and on the other side the socialist camp, composed of distinct countries of Europe, Asia, and Latin America, with the Soviet Union as their vanguard." (Humberto Ortega is Defense Minister.)
  - Bayardo Arce, 1984: "Imperialism asks...that we abandon interventionism;...We cannot stop being internationalists without stopping being revolutionary." (Arce is one of the nine "comandantes".)
 

Sandinistas discuss principles in power:

    - Humberto Ortega, 1981: "Marxism-Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution...without Sandinismo we cannot be Marxist-Leninist and Sandinismo without Marxism-Leninism cannot be revolutionary, and because of that they are indissolubly united..."
    - Victor Tirado, 1983, "This is why the FSLN outlined a government plan and prepared itself for predominant role in government...As we all know, the efforts centered on the armed struggle, as this was the conclusion of the Marxist analysis." (Tirado is one of the nine "comandantes".)

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\*Support from Marxist-Leninist countries:

- Soviet Union: military advisors, tanks, antiaircraft guns, troop transport planes, artillery, financing and technical assistance for strategic ports (El Bluff and San Juan del Sur), a 7,000 ton moveable dry dock and a 60 foot long floating pier; discussions on progress on a cross-country canal. Nicaraguans are being trained in the Soviet Union in military and technical subjects.
- East Germany: military advisors, 1,000 trucks
- Cuba: about 3,000 military advisors and 2,000 teachers of indoctrination, (at least one advisor in each battalion), training in intelligence, propaganda, and state security, transport of some Soviet weapons; training in Cuba for Nicaraguans. In the words of Sergio Ramirez, "Our relations with Cuba have always been close." (Ramirez is one of the junta of three coordinators)
- Libya: advisors and pilot trainers, arms shipments including weapons parts and explosives, ammunition, rocket launchers, wire-guided missiles, machine guns; \$100 M loan.
- Czechoslovakia: light training aircraft, other arms unconfirmed.
- North Korea: exact nature of arms not confirmed.

Rafael Solis (secretary of Nicaraguan Council of State), after Libyan planes of arms landed in Brazil last year which were destined for Nicaragua, stated that it should be no surprise that Nicaragua received arms from Libya and the Soviet bloc countries, and that such arms supply relationships are openly disclosed in Managua. [Washington Post April 23, 1983]

- PLO: training inside and outside Nicaragua, advisors, some arms.

Bayardo Arce, 1984: "Imperialism asks...that we abandon our strategic ties with the Soviet Union and the socialist community...We cannot stop our strategic relations. This does not enter into any consideration."

Speculation about the freeness and fairness of the upcoming Nicaraguan elections runs rampant. A few thoughts about the whys and wherefores of the election from the Sandinistas:

- Humberto Ortega, 1981, "Keep firmly in your minds that these elections are to consolidate revolutionary power, not to place it at stake." He repeated this observation in 1983.
- Sergio Ramirez, 1984 (January, when elections were announced): "The Nicaraguan people will have to choose and vote for one candidate. That candidate is the revolution. This is very important."
- Bayardo Arce, 1984: "After the elections, we are going to drop the fiction that there is a Socialist party which is Marxist-Leninist and there are those of the Sandinista Front."
  - "We are discussing...the idea of putting an end to all this artifice of pluralism, that there is a Socialist and Communist Party, a Christian Socialist and a Social Democrat Party etc, which has been useful to us up to now. Now that time has come to an end."
  - "We are using an instrument, demanded by the bourgeoisie, which disarms the international bourgeoisie, in order to form our own strategic objectives."